1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

high and the hips carried well forward. As they walk along the soft sands they do not lean forward as a white man would to push against the yielding sands. The torso is held erect on the pelvis and the weight is shifted from hip to hip with the legs making a gliding motion beneath. In this way the walk is really a shifting of weight from one foot to another, the foot being planted almost flat on the ground. I noticed that on a hard trail the ball of the foot strikes the ground before the heel. They make a graceful picture as they walk about.

When sitting they double their legs under them, a position difficult to assume unless one has practiced it from childhood. The favorite sleeping posture is on the side with the knees drawn up close to the mouth. When sitting on the sands, if forced to pick up an object lying some distance away, the women especially would walk on all fours to it and bring it back without rising to a standing posture. In this manner I have seen women pick up firewood lying 50 yards away from the fire.

Loads are carried by men and women in nets suspended by a band from the forehead. Young children, who generally accompany their mothers on their food-gathering expeditions, are carried astride the hip, feeding at the breast as the mother goes about her work.

The physical endurance of the Yaruros is rather low. A day of hard paddling at a speed greater than their ordinary style, and they are exhausted. It is difficult to say whether this is due to their poor diet or simply to low racial vitality. It is certain that the American primitive is not as acclimated to the tropics as the Negro who, living on the same food as the Indian, will nevertheless outwork the latter.

The Yaruros today have been pushed to the Capanaparo and the Sinaruco Rivers. Rarely do they dare to wander far away from the banks of these two rivers. Since the days of the missions the indigenous tribes have been the victims of exploitation, even to the extent of enslavement. They are free booty for anyone who can catch them. The ranchers have sought to enslave the Yaruros, but an even more general sport has been the taking of the Yaruro women. Bandits and revolutionary groups sweeping along the llanos have not eased the Yaruro problem. Crocodile hunters, upon meeting with a band of Yaruros, will demand their women, and if the Yaruros should be reluctant to turn them over, death may be the price. I was told both by the Racionales, that is the peons, and the Yaruros, that about one month before I arrived in their midst about 150 Yaruros had been rounded up and killed by the local "Jefes Civiles." The Yaruros are a hunted people, and they know that their extermination is imminent.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

considered to be their ancestorial relatives; that once upon a time the Yaruros were very many and now very few; that the Yaruros had been visited with great calamities the preceding year, and many of their people had died through sickness and other destructive forces.

Also, I learned that, though I could gather inklings of a rich spiritual culture and a good cross section of the material phases from this band, I had to go farther down river to meet the spiritual leaders of the remnants of this race if I wanted to reach the heart of the Yaruros' religion, cosmology, mythology, and ethics.

In all of the primitive groups with which I have come in contact, certain individuals are recognized as the leaders and authorities, especially on such matters as religion and social organization. The younger people hesitate and often refuse to discuss such matters altogether, but age alone is not enough to qualify an individual as the mouthpiece of the group. The Yaruros were no exception. As soon as they grasped that I wanted to know a great deal about their history and culture they urged me to talk to "Landaeta", their leader and great "musico" or shaman. He, with his family, was hunting on the lower Capanaparo. They offered to guide me to him. Accordingly, we journeyed downstream by moonlight to avoid the heat of the day, and as I subsequently discovered, to avoid meeting with crocodile hunters.

About noon the next day we sighted several empty canoes drawn up on the bank, and knew that there must be more Yaruros nearby. We landed on the sandy beach and awaited their return. They came early in the afternoon, the men carrying turtles and crocodiles slung on poles, the women with baskets filled with changuango, leaning forward as they walked, looking not unlike grotesque apes under their heavy loads; and also, little children carrying their share of food, straggling behind. Upon seeing me they were frightened, but did not run away.

My Yaruro paddlers acted the part of mediators perfectly, for soon afterwards we were all embarked and moving downstream to join the main body of Landaeta's band which, I was told, was encamped several miles downstream. Their good humor almost amounted to gaiety. The three canoes moved steadily down the river, the men paddling hard, and the women sitting quietly and casting shy inquisitive glances in my direction.

We found Landaeta and his people on a large exposed wind-swept beach. There was the white sand, the strong wind blowing from the east raising it into dust clouds, and the intense glare from river and sand; a few water jars, a few baskets, several refuse heaps with buzzards feeding at them, canoes drawn up on the beach, and some

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

291 177 after I had been among the Yaruros for a time the women often discarded their camisoles, even though I were present.

291 286 462 The men would normally wear a breechclout which originally was woven by the women from the fibers of the moriche palm leaf, but now it consists of a piece of cloth. Formerly the women wove wide belts of the same fiber for the men, but this is no longer done. The breechclout is held in place by a string tied around the waist.

291 287 The women, underneath their camisoles, still wear the old-fashioned Yaruro girdle, which is made from the fibers of the moriche palm. The fibers, which are about 2 feet long, are fastened together at one end. This end is slipped through a hair rope tied around the waist, and the whole mass of fibers passes between their legs and under the waist string. Plate 25, 4, shows a Yaruro woman wearing one of these girdles. It is fastened in such a way that an enormous knot is formed in the rear, and when wearing their camisole the women have the appearance of sporting large tails.

562 291 301 The women on the whole seem to be more conservative than the men in their clothing and body decorations. Below the knees and around the ankles they wear a thin string, and often they have necklaces of carved asabache figures, which are shown in plate 21.

DELOUSING TOOL

412 515 An implement that is in great vogue is the delousing tool shown in plate 20, 2. The serrated end is used as a comb to expose the lice, which are seized between the fingers and crushed between the teeth. The pointed end is employed to crush blisters raised on the body by 462 mosquito bites. These tools, also fashioned by the men, are used 302 exclusively by the women to groom their menfolk and each other.

CARRYING NETS

482 286 854 Carrying nets, of the knotless variety, are woven and used to carry children and food. When carrying children the net is slung across the chest from one shoulder; when carrying food it is supported by the head.

COOKING

252 462 The culinary art among the Yaruro is poorly developed. Much of the fruit and the eggs are eaten raw. Fish is eaten half raw and the meat of the crocodiles and turtles is merely warmed over the fire. Sometimes the meat is boiled. In the afternoon the women who have gathered firewood are to be found in camp waiting patiently for the men. On the hot coals they will have eggs and changuango. If the hunt is successful, and no hunt is considered

1 [see category 116, and plate 15, - - - Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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1. Yaruro bowman. The arrow is held to the string between the forefinger and thumb. The middle and fourth finger help pull the string back. 2. Crocodile meat is a staple food. The legs and tail have been cut off to make carrying easier. 3. Yaruros of Lagunote wearing parts of author's towels for breechcloots.

[End Plate 2]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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1, 2, 3. As soon as the night chill is dispelled the men leave to hunt and the women to gather roots and seeds. The equipment of the women consists of basket carried with a tump band across the forehead, and digging stick. Children are carried astride across the hip or in a carrying net. The aboriginal clothing of the Yaruro women is the girdle shown in these photographs, now worn even if the individual possesses a camisole.

(End Plate 8)

La Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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1. Woman weaving a mat. Note the use of the foot.

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2. Women foraging for food. Note: braided hair, method of carrying basket, women's girdles, bands below the knee and on the ankles, method of carrying child, and digging stick.

(End Plate 13)

represent his people to the outside world without consultation and to make arbitrary decisions for them inside the community — mainly in his own interest — was, with the consent of the community, assassinated by one of the members, now in excellent standing in that community as a respected shaman. The chief in question had stepped beyond the bounds designated for his status. In sum, the position of chief, even though formally recognized by Yaruro society and reinforced by formal recognition and appointment by Venezuelan authorities, is feeble as an institution and as a status.[6] It is our hypothesis that ecological conditions of Yaruro life determine the form of the chieftainship in such a way that its stronger institutionalization would be impossible, and we turn to this question now.

III

Yaruro subsistence activities[7] comprise swiddening, gathering, pig herding, hunting and fishing, mentioned in the order of their importance as contributors to the total food supply as measured in calories.[8] Horticulture probably provides 60—70% of the total annual food supply. The horticulture practiced is characteristic of tropical forest slash-and-burn gardens, with a slow rotation of plots in order to permit soil renewal and weed control. Trees are cut, at present with steel axes and formerly, apparently, with axes of bone or shell, and then burnt. Occasional fences are roughly made of the logs to keep out pigs. Bitter manioc (*Manihot utilissima*),[9] in several varieties, is the main crop, though sweet manioc (*Manihot aipi*), also in several varieties, is planted too, as are corn, bananas, sugar cane — each in several varieties — and a number of lesser crops such as melons, squashes, pumpkins, pineapples, sweet potatoes, and yautia or ocumo (*Xanthosoma sagittifolium*). Crops are planted with a digging stick which may also be used in harvesting. Gardens are weeded, once only, early in the growth of the crops. Other than clearing, the only soil preparation is the construction of hills for planting bananas. This is done by burning hills made by a certain species of ants (*huachaquero*). The hills, which are quite wide and low, are filled with organic matter enriching the soil.[10] Harvesting is aided with baskets for carrying the crops. Baskets contain about half a bushel or less. No fertilization, no terracing, no drainage, no irrigation, no extensive turning of the soil is done.

The gathered resources include a number of roots, particularly changuango, changuanito, and guapo (*Maranta arundinacea*);[11] varied fruits, especially that of

[6] Professor Benjamin N. Nelson informs me that in medieval Spain, village communities had an official, also called *capitan*, whose function was to treat with state functionaries representing the world beyond the village community's frontier. It is possible that the Yaruro capitan, and many others in Venezuela, are an acculturative transfer of this office to tribal groups. In the case of the Yaruro, this would have happened some 250—300 years ago.

[7] The use, here, of the terms 'activity', 'tasks', 'techniques', 'tools', 'resources', and 'habitat' corresponds to the definitions given in Leeds, 1960 b.

[8] Cf. Leeds, 1961, which gives this data in detail and describes the habitat and horticulture *in extenso*.

[9] Native terms for these crops are given *ibid.*

[10] *Ibid.*, note 9, contains data on soil values.

[11] Identifications are from Pittier, 1926.